1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

Foreword

I consider myself privileged to be asked to contribute a Foreword to this excellent book. My interest in it is doubtless nepotistic, but I feel certain that my admiration will be shared by others. The history of the matter may be briefly stated. In the summer of 1947 I was invited by the Government of Sarawak to make recommendations regarding projects for sociological research in the then newly-constituted colony. This book is a report on one of the projects which I then recommended.

Precisely because of the great wealth of ethnographic treasure that is to be found in Sarawak, my original task proved invidious. For every scheme of research that I proposed, there were half-a-dozen others for which I might easily have devised a plausible case. In Sarawak itself there were eager advocates for diverse rival projects.

Prior to 1947 ethnographic investigation in Sarawak had tended to be concentrated upon the peoples of the interior—the Kayan, the Kenyah, the Kelabit and the rest. At the same time there had grown up a notion that the peoples of the coastal area, such as the Iban, the Land Dayak and the Melanau, had become too sophisticated and detribalised to be of ethnographic interest. Anthropologists were expected to study savages. This I fancy was the general local view. But to me, as an outsider, it seemed paradoxical that with an impressively large literature on the Kayan (population 6,173), I could learn hardly anything about the Iban (190,326), or the Land Dayak (42,195), or the Melanau (35,560). Clearly, however glamorous and exotic the interior peoples might appear to the ethnographer, it was the coastal peoples whom I have mentioned, together with their neighbours the Malays (97,469) and the Chinese (145,158), who were of primary economic and political significance to the colony. I advised accordingly.

In 1947 a sociological study of the Malay community would have been politically inopportune, but in my recommendations I gave high priority to studies of the Iban, the Land Dayak, the Melanau and the Chinese. All these four proposals were accepted and have now resulted in published reports as follows:

IBAN	J. D. Freeman, *Iban Agriculture* (the present volume).
LAND DAYAK ..	W. R. Geddes, *The Land Dayak of Sarawak*. Colonial Research Studies No. 14 (H.M.S.O., London, 1954).
MELANAU ..	H. S. Morris, *Report on a Melanau Sago Producing Community in Sarawak*. Colonial Research Studies No. 9 (H.M.S.O., London, 1953).
CHINESE	Ju. K'ang T'ien, *The Chinese of Sarawak*. London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology No. 12 (London, n.d. [1953])

and further publications are promised.*

* *e.g.* see Author's Preface below.

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● 114 In the outcome our state of knowledge has been transformed. Eight years ago Coastal Sarawak was, from the point of view of the social anthropologist, a *terra incognita*; today it constitutes one of the very few regions in the whole of South East Asia of which it can be asserted with some confidence that the social system is thoroughly understood.

The four authors I have named were all in Sarawak at much the same time and they were all working on projects which, in their initial conception, formed part of a co-ordinated scheme, but beyond that there was no rigid framework of enquiry. Each investigator has carried out a highly individual piece of research and each has described it in his own way. The result seems to me admirable. No one of these books depends to any serious degree upon any of the others; nevertheless they are, in important respects, complementary. The four peoples here described are neighbours one to another and the four accounts deserve study as a group.

Thus while Dr. Freeman's community is dependent exclusively on shifting cultivation, Dr. Geddes' group have a mixed economy of shifting and fixed agriculture; Mr. Morris was concerned with a plantation economy, Dr. T'ien with a "middleman's economy" which impinges on each of the other three but also embraces primary production of its own. The comparisons that may be drawn between these several studies are numerous and stimulating.

Dr. Freeman had certain advantages over his colleagues. He was in the field for the longest period; he had with him, in the person of his wife, a field assistant of quite exceptional qualifications; the community which he selected for special study proved to be unusually congenial and co-operative. The quality of the resulting research is obvious in every page of this book. On the anthropological side it breaks entirely new ground. There is scarcely any part of the information here presented which was hitherto available in ordinarily accessible published sources. But the book is of much more than purely local interest.

Shifting cultivation is a world-wide phenomenon; as a technique for growing rice it is general throughout Eastern Asia. In both cases the literature is extensive, tendentious, and based on wholly inadequate research. Here at last we have a specialised study, based on detailed first-hand observation over an adequate period. The results are of importance far outside the field of Sarawak sociology.

But a word of warning is necessary. This is a study of extreme conditions in which shifting cultivation reveals both its best and its worst features. The area of study is one in which virgin jungle is still plentiful with the consequence that simple economic restraints against a prodigal waste of resources are at a minimum. The Iban, here described, obtain a plentiful return for their labour at the cost of (literally) "burning up their capital". But capital waste is not a necessary feature of shifting cultivation.

In the past, critics have been quick enough to note the wastefulness of shifting cultivation; what they have often failed to recognise is that, given appropriate demographic conditions, agricultural methods such as these do provide an effective means of livelihood. The problem which faces the administrator and his agronomist adviser is not so much that of "abolishing shifting cultivation" as of creating social conditions in which there is an incentive to utilise resources efficiently without detriment to the basic fertility of the soil. The answers to such

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

a problem cannot be discovered ready-made by interpolating facts derived from European experience into an Asiatic tropical context. To understand what constitutes economic motivation in any system of production we need to study the social context in which that system operates. Dr. Freeman's book, which is outstandingly free from bias, is one of the very few accounts of shifting cultivation which really makes plain what the fundamental issues are. I wish it every success.

E. R. LEACH.

Cambridge, June, 1955.

1; Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

Introduction

IN September, 1948, I was appointed to undertake anthropological research in Sarawak under the auspices of the Colonial Social Science Research Council. The Secretary of the Colonial Social Science Research Council laid down as follows the nature of my research work: "a study of a traditionally based, stable, Iban community based on shifting dry rice cultivation and not subject to undue land shortage . . . . as described in 'A Report on the Possibilities of a Social Economic Survey of Sarawak,' by Dr. E. R. Leach".[1]

I arrived in Sarawak in January, 1949, and remained in the Colony until June, 1951. For most of this period I was working among the Iban of the Baleh region of the Kapit District of the Third Division. Our base camp was at Rumah Nyala in Sungai Sut, but field research was carried on in many other parts of the Baleh region—particularly in the headwaters of the Mujong. Visits were also made to Iban communities of the lower, middle and upper Rejang, the Katibas and Ngemah (in the Third Division), and of the Saribas and Ulu Batang Ai (in the Second Division). In studying agriculture many months were spent living on Iban farms, and this report is based on intensive first-hand observation; all of my investigations were carried on in the Iban language.

The Iban (or Sea Dayaks) belong to an ethnic stock which Haddon has called Proto-Malay. In brief, they are a brachycephalic people (average C. I. 83) of short stature (average height 5ft. 2½ins.), with black, lank hair and cinnamon coloured skin. Iban culture is basically proto-Malayan in type. Howell, our greatest authority on the Iban language, had no hesitation in classing it as "a dialect of the wide spreading Malay language." However, it is a dialect which has become intermixed with words borrowed from the various Borneo tribes with which the Iban have come into contact. Again, the Iban language, although it does contain a number of words that are Sanskrit in origin, has not been influenced by Arabic as have the languages of the peninsular Malays and the Menangkabau of Sumatra.

In Sarawak to-day, the Iban are the predominant element in a highly heterogeneous population. The total population of Sarawak as disclosed by the census of 1947 was 546,385, and of this number 190,326 (or 34·8%) were Iban. The past century has been for the Iban an era of expansion and they are now scattered over most of the interior zone of Sarawak—from the Samarahan river in the First Division to the Limbang river in the Fifth Division, about four hundred miles away to the north-east. However, the main concentrations of Iban population are to be found in the Second and Third Divisions.

Formerly, all of the Iban of Sarawak were shifting cultivators growing their *padi* on hillside clearings in the tropical rain-forest. To-day, there are a number of Iban communities (particularly in the lower reaches of the Lupar, Saribas and Rejang rivers) who derive their livelihood from the cultivation of wet *padi* in

[1] Leach, E. R., "Social Science Research in Sarawak," Colonial Research Studies No. 1, London, 1950.

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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tened on the outside, being closed when they are at their farms by the mortar in which their rice is cleaned, and which always stands outside the door in the verandah, or some other heavy piece of wood being merely placed against it. The whole of their buildings, though of so substantial and good appearance, are formed and fastened together without the assistance of nails, their place being supplied by rattans and other cordage.

The language of the sea Dyaks, though altogether different in such parts as having not been adopted from the Malay, is merely a less refined dialect of the language spoken over all Polynesia, and its connexion with that of the other wild tribes, particularly those of Sumatra, is easily to be traced. It is not nearly so melodious in sound, or so copious in its extent, as the Malay, though the Dyaks do not scruple to extend it by adding foreign words whenever they find it necessary, so that a great portion of the words of their vocabulary are from the Malay: the intercourse, which has been generally friendly, between the two nations has also encouraged this adoption of foreign terms. Specimens of their language are given in the work of Captain Keppel, from the vocabularies of Mr. Brooke, and as I can vouch for their correctness, it is not necessary to repeat them here. The different tribes into which the sea division of the Dyaks is again separated have each dialects, which differ in a trifling measure from that generally spoken, but as far as I

4: Roth E-4 (no date) 1891 OC6 Iban OC6

843 tool except it be absolutely unavoidable; he may not tie things together with canes, nor kill certain animals, nor fire guns, nor do anything, in fact, of a violent character; all such things being supposed to exercise a malign influence on the formation and development of the *fœtus*.

852 A few months after the birth of a child a feast is given in honour of the event, and another after the harvest, to launch it on the world. During the feast the *manang* waves the odoriferous areca blossom over the babe and moves about the village chanting. The feast lasts a day and a night.

591 It is usual for the husband to reside with the father-in-law until he has a family of his own and is prepared to set up a house for himself. If his wife is the only daughter and he is permitted to take her away to his own home, her parents have a right to demand of him a *taju* or *brian* (*barian*) to replace her loss of service; but if she has a sister or sister-in-law to attend to her parents, no such demand can be made, and she is at liberty to follow her husband if she be so disposed.

583 591 611 Self interest governs the father in connection with his daughter's marriage. He makes certain requisitions as the price of his consent. He would stipulate that his daughter should continue to live with him or near him so that her children should belong to him as head of the family group. In this case not only would the children form part of the family to which the mother belonged, but the husband himself would become united to it, and would be required to labour for the benefit of his father-in-law. It frequently happens that when a husband refuses to live with his wife's family she will leave him and go back to her relatives.

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606 It is customary to treat a father-in-law with even greater deference than one's own father. The son-in-law will never venture to utter his name or to contradict him when speaking. He may not lie on the same mat with him, or eat off the same plate, or drink out of the same cup, or walk in front of him.

[N.B.—*Further papers will follow.*]

DISCUSSION.

114 Dr. TYLOR said that when the rough notes of descriptive anthropology, which Mr. Brooke Low did not live to complete, were placed in his hands by his father, Sir Hugh Low, their fragmentary and half-obliterated state seemed hopeless. But on examination it was evident that material of so much value must, if possible, be saved, and at his request Mr. Ling Roth had undertaken to bring the papers into shape, and deserved the thanks of the Institute for

4: Roth E-4 (no date) 1891 OC6 Iban OC6

the skill and patience with which he was accomplishing the task without substantial alteration, and generally without changing the writer's words. The present paper, the first instalment of the whole, shows Mr. Low's skill both as an anthropologist and as a philologist, whose linguistic studies in the Dyak region, which from his official position in Sarawak he knew intimately, add largely to our knowledge of a group of languages as yet but scantily known. Among the topics to which Dr. Tylor wished to call special attention, are the remarks on the relation of dreams to the idea of soul or spirit, a fundamental doctrine of the animistic scheme of religion. No illustration could be stronger than that of the Dyak, who, having dreamt that he fell into the water, attributes this to his shadow-soul having really fallen into the water, and proceeds, by the aid of the spirit-doctor, to recover it, and get it restored to him. In the description of omens, the animistic reason for animals giving intelligence by omens is supplied where it is mentioned that such spirits of birds are considered to be really transmigrated ancestors come to warn the Dyaks of danger. This throws an important light on what we call ill-omened birds and other creatures, who from this point of view are not vexatious, but come as friends to save their friends from harm. It appears that the Dyaks share with the Kafirs of South Africa the delusion that the lengths of shadows vary, portending good or ill. Among other doctrines familiar to students of the lower culture, here well illustrated, may be observed the tabu, here known as mali (given by St. John in the form *pamali*); the totem-animal, whose flesh may not be eaten; the tree-spirit, consenting or objecting to its tree being felled; the accounting for bad weather by the anger of the spirits at marriage-customs having been violated, &c. Care must, however, be taken not to overlook the effects of foreign civilized influence on the ideas of these rude people. The mystic number seven, as in the doctrine of the seven spirits, must be due to Hindu or Moslem influence; as also the worship of the deity called here the Great Spirit, whose name, probably showing in which of these two cultured religions he originated, will, no doubt, be specified in papers to come later on before the Institute.

Dr. CODRINGTON said that very much of what had been read, especially in the first part, corresponded closely with what had been observed in Melanesia. Without referring to general resemblance or identity, three words had struck him as remarkable: 1. *Antu*, no doubt the Polynesian *atua*, a spiritual being or demon; 2. *Manang*, probably the *mana*, by which all magic and doctoring is worked in Melanesia; 3. *Tapu*. (This last, however, was introduced in the paper, not as a native word, but as generally understood.)

Sir HUGH LOW said:—In reference to the points in this paper in which Dr. Codrington has remarked similarity to the customs of the natives of the Islands of Polynesia, I should like to mention that, although it is now more than forty years since I had the opportunity

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

INTRODUCTION

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WITH the establishment of Rajah Brooke's government in Sarawak, the different races of its native population gradually became known to English people, and at length the Dyakland of Borneo has found a definite place and shape in the English mind, much as the Zululand of Africa has done. The Sea Dyak soon appeared in print; travellers mentioned him, sometimes only as a simple savage; men who have spent some time in the country, like the late Sir Hugh Low and the late Sir Spenser St. John, described something of his life; missionary reports had him in their pages; European residents and civil administrators and others wrote of him in various papers and periodicals. But most, if not all, of these accounts were unavoidably brief, partial, and sketchy, for it did not come within the scope of their purpose to set forth a full and systematic statement of all things Dyak. Mr. Ling Roth collected all the notes about Dyaks he could find, from various sources, and published his harvest of accumulations in two large volumes. It is a monument of industrious collecting; but his work is that of the scissors rather than of the pen, a compilation rather than a writing; and in the extracts, being the productions of various writers at different periods, we see much overlapping and repetition, and some confusion; and, necessarily, such a book was too bulky to obtain a general circulation. More recently Miss Eda Green has given

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

●114 to English readers a little book about Borneo, wonderful in its general accuracy, and vivid in its descriptions; but it is meant especially for missionary circles and missionary reading—in fact, it was written expressly for the Borneo Mission Association, whose objects it has done much to promote. But it is a book about the Mission rather than about the Dyaks, and it does not profess to give a complete account of the entire field of Sea Dyak life.

This is Mr. Gomes's object, and he attains it. His book is not a mere personal narrative of life in Sarawak. We have in it a very full, systematic, and comprehensive description of Sea Dyak life—its works, thoughts, sentiments, superstitions, customs, religion, beliefs, and ideals. Our attention is not directed to the magnificent beauties of Bornean tropical scenery and luxuriant flora, nor to the wonders of the insect life with which the land simply abounds. Mr. Gomes sees Dyaks, and Dyaks only, in his mind. The "brown humanity" of the country, not its natural history, occupies his attention. He knows that humanity intimately, and writes from the storehouse which he has accumulated in long years of experience and observation. And he puts all within manageable compass and volume. His book is, I believe, the first which contains a complete picture of Sea Dyak life in all its phases, yet in moderate dimensions. And from my own experience of some twenty years in Sarawak, I can testify to the truthfulness of every page.

Possibly it is sometimes thought that the missionary is not the best man to write about the people to whom he appeals; that he may be easily biassed in one direction or another, and may think too ill or too well of them, and may allow his judgment to be overcoloured by his religious purpose. A *little* experience among the people of any race, especially where the language is not well

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

known, may easily result in limited views and imperfect conceptions. But when his residence has extended over many years, and he knows the language as well as his own; when he has had constant opportunities of observing their tone and conduct in every relation of life, and of hearing how they talk and think on every imaginable subject, and of seeing how they behave at home as well as abroad—how they bear themselves, not only to an occasional white man whom they meet, but also to each other in social dealings—when he thus lives in close touch with them at every point, he cannot but obtain a thorough understanding of the realities of their lives.

And the Sea Dyaks are generally a very communicative people. They will willingly give information about every belief and custom, and will quietly discuss every practice and every event, good or bad; and it needs only a little patience and sympathy to enable one to get an insight into the working of their minds, and to realize the true character of their actions in the struggles, the comedies, or the tragedies of their lives.

Mr. Gomes is thus able to make the Sea Dyak live before us in genuine colours. We can see this dusky son of the jungle in his beliefs and fears, which are many, in his work and in his play, in his ugly faults and amiable virtues, in his weaknesses and in his abilities. And I think that everyone who reads his pages will feel that henceforth he knows the Sea Dyak of Sarawak better than he ever knew him before, and will come to the conclusion that, in spite of his faults, he is a very likeable man.

The Sea Dyaks, then, are worth knowing. They constitute a very valuable element in the population of Sarawak, not only from their numbers, but also from their force of character. They are active, hardworking,

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who was consecrated Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak in 1855.

My father, the Rev. W. H. Gomes, B.D., worked under Bishop McDougall as a missionary among the Dyaks of Lundu from 1852 to 1867, and I myself have worked, under Bishop Hose, as a missionary in Sarawak, for seventeen years, and have thus gained an intimate knowledge of the people and of their lives, now so rapidly changing under Western influence.

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Sir James Brooke was a man of the highest personal character. That a young English officer, with a fortune of his own, should have been willing to devote his whole life to improving the condition of the Dyaks was a grand thing. That he should have been able, by perfectly legitimate means, to do this in the teeth of much official and other opposition; that he should have been able to put down piracy and head-hunting, with their unspeakable accompaniments of misery and cruelty, and to do it all with the hearty good-will of the people under his rule,—this was indeed an achievement which might have seemed hardly possible.

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The present Rajah of Sarawak, Sir Charles Brooke, is a nephew of the first Rajah. He joined his uncle in 1852, when he held the rank of lieutenant in the British navy. For ten years he played an important part in the arduous work of punishing rebels and establishing a sound government. In 1857, when the Chinese insurrection broke out, it was his action that led to the punishment of the insurgents and the restoration of peace. In 1863, on the retirement of the first Rajah, he assumed control of the country, and five years later, on the death of his predecessor, he became Rajah of Sarawak. Ever since he became the responsible ruler of the country,

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9: Griffith D-5 (1953) 1955 OC6 Iban OC6

Health and Disease in young Sea Dayak Men

by G. T. GRIFFITH, M.B., M.R.C.S.
lately Capt. R.A.M.C.

114 702 In January 1953 recruiting was begun for the Sarawak Rangers for military service in Malaya where formerly they had been employed in a civilian capacity as Iban trackers. After service in Malaya they were to form a nucleus for a military force to defend Sarawak. I was the medical officer to the four recruiting parties from Malaya and this article embodies my findings, impressions and opinions formed during this recruiting campaign. It is confined to the second and third divisions of Sarawak and to the Sea Dayak race.

125 702 The clinical findings cannot be exterpolated with any confidence to the whole population of the area covered since two factors distorted the cross-section of young men presented to me for medical examination and these did not act similarly at different times and places.

All recruits were volunteers. Each recruiting officer would tour his alloted district asking men to come forward and explaining the terms of service. At the same time a message was sent round the long-houses which he was unable to visit announcing the date of the recruiting parade which was invariably held in a town. This produced the first distorting factor: men who were diseased—more especially externally so—would be disinclined to volunteer as it was made clear that they would have to be perfectly fit and pass a medical examination added to which the pengulus frequently stopped men who were, in their opinion, unfit or too unintelligent to serve in the army from presenting themselves.

The second factor was introduced by the recruiting officers. Each officer had his own ideas about what type of Iban would make a good soldier: one might favour the younger man ready to learn, another the older man with worldly experience, a third the Herculean type and a fourth the lithe intelligent type. The bias here is that the older man is more likely to show signs of disease and the thin man was more often suffering from illness than the robust. Further in each region the number of men presenting themselves for each vacancy varied between two and twenty. Thus the officer had to vary his standards of choice and to a lesser extent the medical standards for recruitment were altered. For example in the Third Division 22 out of 351 were

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10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

The Westward Migration of the Sea Dayaks

by BENEDICT SANDIN*

(*edited by* TOM HARRISSON)

Editorial Introduction:

114 This paper is a highly condensed version of complex processes which led a great people from the south-east of Borneo right across the spine of the island and down to the South China Sea —where, when they met Europeans as pirates in the last century, [101] they earned their present common name, Sea Dayak. Benedict Sandin started work on compiling this material systematically in 1949, at my suggestion, because there was a serious risk of these traditions dying out unrecorded. But long before that Sandin —who comes of good family and traces descent direct from the culture hero of all "true" Sea Dayaks, Sengalang Burong (see genealogy I, below)—could recite many of these "*tusut*" himself, as a boy of 10. The new generations no longer are so taught.

Working together, mildly, we had rather a lot of trouble fitting the data, based on genealogies and folklore, into some intelligible pattern. A mass of material was collected by Sandin and studied. At one stage we had a fair-size book in manuscript draft. But, while impressive as raw data, it was pretty indigestible stuff. Part of the trouble was that Sandin was working at whole-time jobs in the country and we could seldom get together to correlate his own Dayak knowledge and my western sense of literary discipline and presentation. Happily, by 1954, I was able to get Benedict transferred to the Museum, where he is now Junior Assistant Curator. This promised more rapid progress on a project which had long seemed to me priority. However, through the very good offices of Dr. W. R. Geddes (author of "*The Land Dayaks*" and now Lecturer in Anthropology at Auckland University) he soon got a UNESCO scholarship to New Zealand, where, under the wise supervision of Dr. Gilbert Archey and other Museum friends,

*Mr. Sandin is now on the staff of the Sarawak Museum (see text).

10: Sandin 1-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

he spent a profitable year—but not thinking on *tusut*, naturally. He returned just as I had to go on leave to Europe.

In my absence he went into the field and filled in some important gaps. On my return, we—I simply as the one who asked him innumerable questions to clarify, and went over all he wrote in detail—at last got out a resumé of the basic results so far. This is it.

No such piecing together of the Dayak past has previously been attempted. As it stands, this one is only the outline of a beginning. It is hardly thrilling. For a non-Bornean the sequences will be very hard to follow. But I feel that we should publish *something* at this stage, or the whole effort will peter out. I now hope that Sandin will be able to spend a good part of his Museum time on working out the material fully—we have nearly 50 basic genealogies, as well as a mass of related folklore. A few specimen and relevant genealogies are appended to this paper. These are of importance, especially when studied in conjunction with those of other groups, such as the Land Dayaks, Kayans and Kelabits, on which this Museum has built up a large store of recorded material in the past decade. Study proves beyond doubt that although these trees of life start up in the area of mythology, they are firmly rooted in the facts of group history. Whenever some other check (e.g. archeological or from known dates such as the Brunei Royal Family genealogies) has been possible, this material, so easily dismissed as "folklore" and "myth", makes sense. There is anyway no other way we can recapture that history—or protohistory, if you like.

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I will not go into all the dating and other implications at this stage. Let it rest at Sengalang Burong, at 24 generations ago. This makes sense. I am sure that with this and other material, taken in conjunction with Museum excavations of Kelabit upland megalithic structures, old long-house sites on the now uninhabited Usan Apau, extensive archeological work along the Sarawak coast and in Brunei, and the big digs in Niah and Bau Caves—we shall in the foreseeable future be able to provide an orderly picture of what has hitherto looked an exceptionally high grade tangle of human elements in Borneo.

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181 All that need be said here is that Sandin's material documents precisely the sweep West and North of a group which in my first sentence, I termed "a great people". That they are a *people*, the most homogenous in Borneo, has been disputed from time to time for political or pedantic reasons. But anyone with a wide knowledge knew otherwise, as did the Brookes. And the present material amply elaborates the issue. The adjective great I used to indicate the numerical strength of the Sea Dayaks, who clearly swept out under pressure of population. But also I meant it to suggest a quality of the people *individually* and *collectively*—and in no Borneo culture except Kelabit does this distinction vary more from one extreme of not to the other of is according to situation. These *tusut* show a greatness of spirit, discipline and pioneering, which is still much a part of their mood today, although at present overlain with a good deal that is more trivial, and probably temporary.

To some extent, this derives from the fundamentally classless, "democratic" structure of Sea Dayak society. There are "aristocrats", like Sandin himself, who "go back" to Sengalang Burong. But this is seldom *explicit*. And it is overlain by the much deeper feeling that *every* Sea Dayak goes back to Sengalang Burong. The Land Dayaks also have a classless society (I am using this term loosely); what *they* lack is any sense of unity, any shared *remembered* experience outside the local group. They do no *feel* themselves a people. Perhaps the people who are nearest the Sea Dayaks in this respect are the Dusuns. They were the late invaders of North Borneo, contemporarily with the Sea Dayaks in the south. Unfortunately, and despite the scholarly efforts of Mr. I. H. N. Evans, the chronology of Dusun traditions has been almost lost. (I do my "dating" for them from the great value jars brought traditionally on their westward expansion out of "Nonok Kerangang"; two of these I got for the Sarawak Museum, and many others I examined in Dusun country.)

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114 In the full material collected by Benedict Sandin, virtually *every* important piece of Dayak custom and law is related to a specific event, pin-pointed on one or several of the 40-50 basic genealogies. On this, we have a fascinatingly exact record. A whole series of other events, formative in group life (such as

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

floods and pestilences, contacts with outside peoples, voyages overseas, first appearances of new foods, materials and techniques) are similarly identified, often with a wealth of detail.

We also have in the Museum files a nice cross-check on the way the Sea Dayaks slew the Serus, the pre-Dayak "aborigines" of the south-west. This was recorded in great detail over months from the last pagan Seru by the late lamented F. Manis, Museum Research Assistant. It abundantly shows what a really different people the pre-Dayak Serus (and Bukitans) were, with customs in many ways related to the so-called Kajangs of the upper Rejang, Kelabits of the upper Baram and northern Indonesian Borneo. This data too, must be worked up. It includes a vocabulary of the now extinct Seru language.

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We would like to thank the following patient, principal field informants: Mujah anak Mambang, Libau anak Garran, Linggi anak Nyanggau and Lawrence Sanggat (now Penghulu (chief) Sanggat of Spaoh); for much assistance in tracing down *tusut* sources, Mr. and Mrs. Desmond Bruen, he then District Officer, Simanggang (now Assistant Resident, Brunei). For other help in sorting things out: The Hon'ble Edward Jerah, B.E.M., Peter Sumbang, Gerunsin Lembat and our old friend Walter Unjah; for general advice and interest, The Hon'ble Anthony Richards (now Resident 1st Division). Mr. R. N. Bryant of the Geological Department has, with the advice of Mr. G. E. Wilford, kindly drawn the two maps. With continued aid of these good allies, we hope before long to offer an authoritative yet exciting "History of the Sea Dayaks", written both in English and Dayak. This will, I hope, only be a introduction to an accredited reconstruction of about the last 4,000 years in this great island. We happen to be ahead on the Sea Dayaks. Meanwhile here is at least a beginning .....

T.H.

11:Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1957 OC6 Iban OC6

Iban Pottery

by

J. D. FREEMAN, PH.D.

(Australian National University)

"……do not grudge
To pick out treasures from an earthen pot……"
George Herbert, 1593-1633.

114 323 Henry Ling Roth in his classic compilation "The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo" (published in London in 1896, and "based chiefly on the MSS. of the late Hugh Brooke Low")[1] devotes two pages (Vol. 1, pp. 390-391), to pottery. Having previously cited (on p. 381) Brooke Low's observation that "before the arrival of Europeans" the Iban (or Sea Dayaks) had used "earthen *prioks*[2] made by themselves," Ling Roth begins his account with the comment: "There appears to be little or no pottery made by the natives now;" and in evidence of this he quotes a note by the Rev. F. W. Leggatt, an S.P.G. missionary then stationed on the Skrang River, concerning the pottery of the Dayaks of that region. "They tell me here," reported the Rev. Leggatt, "that they do not make pots now for two reasons—firstly, because the proper clay is found only a long distance off, secondly, because Chinese pots are to be bought so cheaply that it is not worth while making pots for themselves."[3]

323 184 By the 1890's then, pottery was no longer being made by the Sea Dayaks of the Skrang, and (probably) of the other regions of the Second Division, where Government and mission activities had led to changes in technology and economic organization, as in the rest of Dayak culture. Further inland, however, there were other Iban tribes whose members saw much less of Europeans, and most of whose traditional practices were little influenced by the policies of the Brooke regime. In the long-house communities of those remoter regions the art of pottery survived.

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114 323 During the years 1949 to 1951, while carrying out field research in social anthropology on behalf of the Colonial Social Science Research Council and the Government of Sarawak, I

11:Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1957 OC6 Iban OC6

chanced to visit a number of the more distant Iban communities of the Third Division where earthenware pots were still being made and used. The main purpose of this present paper is to give an account of the technique of pottery making as my wife and I observed it in an Iban long-house in the head-waters of the Mujong River of the Kapit District.[4]

Early in November, 1949, so that we might witness a set of major rituals (the chief of which were several *gawai kenyālang*, or hornbill rituals) we had travelled to Rumah Tungku (a long-house of 50 apartments) in the lower reaches of the Sungai Tiau, a stream that rises among the grotesque granite peaks of the Hose Mountains and flows away to the south-west to become one of the main tributaries of the Mujong. Soon after our arrival, while making a census of the families of Rumah Tungku, we noticed that many of the apartments contained stocks of earthenware pots. Blackened by soot, they stood in racks above the elevated cooking hearth (*dapur*) of the apartment, or hung in rotan casings from the hearth's side-posts. When we asked about them we were told that all the pots we had seen had been made by women of Rumah Tungku from local clays and by traditional Iban methods. In several parts of the Baleh region we had come across other long-houses where pots of Iban make were being used, but nowhere had we seen as many *priok tanah* as at Rumah Tungku.

Clearly pottery making was a flourishing local industry, and we resolved to find out what we could about it as soon as the *gawai* we had come to observe and study were at an end.

By Friday, 25th November, even the most elaborate of the *gawai* had been over for several days. Life in the long-house was gradually returning to normal and routine domestic tasks that had been pushed to one side because of preoccupation with ritual matters of high importance were slowly being taken up again. So it was that on the morning of that Friday we came across old Runin, seated on a mat at the edge of her section of the great gallery (*ruai*) of the long-house, making a clay pot. Here was the opportunity we had been hoping for: we sat down beside her and watched.

During the previous weeks we had seen a good deal of Runin. She was a charming old lady, full of good humour, and possessing an expert knowledge of the part Iban women play in *gawai*

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

cloths, and in the case of the jackets how they were constructed. The patterns and designs are described and illustrated as copiously as space permits, and we have added what information we have been able to find with regard to their significance; very rarely have we hazarded suggestions of our own.

We gratefully thank those Museum authorities who have afforded us opportunities for examining the cloths under their charge and the various unknown Iban who have given information. We feel that especial thanks are due to the late Dr Charles Hose for having supervised the identification of the designs on the cloths that have formed the basis of our study; the help afforded by these names has been invaluable.

The cloths themselves, together with the photographs and sketches made in Sarawak, are placed in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology and are available to those who would like to consult them.

We candidly admit that we are merely pioneers in this investigation and it remains for others who can interrogate the Iban themselves to confirm, modify, or correct our provisional statements and to enter more deeply and securely into the motives that lie behind these expressions of Iban aestheticism.

The admirable compilation *The natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* (1896), by H. Ling Roth, has been of very great assistance to us, especially his chapter XVII. His *Studies in primitive looms* (1918) is invaluable, as it is based on his own investigations. We have quoted with due acknowledgment from various authors whose observations have elucidated our subject and to those whose names are most frequently mentioned we offer our thanks. Particular mention should be made of the excellent *Sea Dyak Dictionary* by the Rev. W. Howell and D. J. S. Bailey, to which we have so often referred under *S.D.D.*, and we have found their English-Sea Dyak Vocabulary useful.

283 action. Gomes (1911), pl. p. 128, gives the same photograph in the correct position). The wheel, which has a shaft passing through two uprights at one end of the stand, consists of two elements, each composed of three flat wooden spokes which cross at their centres and are so arranged that one set alternates with the other (fig. 3). A strong thread is carried across alternately from the ends of the spokes of one element to those on the other, forming a zigzag which is the periphery of the driving wheel. At the other end of the stand there is a support on which the spindle is mounted horizontally; in the one here illustrated it passes through two rings attached to the support and so can rotate freely. The two rings are placed on either side of a long vertical hole near the base of the support through which the endless belt of cord, which goes round the driving wheel, passes to the spindle. The rotation of the spindle supplies the necessary twist to the drawn-out fibre. The process is intermittent, since each length or stretch of yarn has to be wound on to the spindle before another length is spun. When the spindle is full the thread is wound off into a ball or on to a separate piece of wood (pl. xxiv, *a*, *b*).

283 ●114 A more elaborate method, similar to that used in Java, is described by Howell, who says that after ginning, the cotton is threshed out on a mat with a cotton-beater (*pemalu taya*), the women using both hands for the work; this is done only very early in the morning. The cotton is threshed to form a flat mass, *lapis*, averaging 2 to 3 ft. square and some 2 in. in thickness. In the evening the *lapis* is folded and placed on the thigh to be cut into very thin pieces, which are put into a basket. The following morning the pieces are put on a mat and are again threshed till the *lapis* are reduced to the thickness of a sheet of thick paper. Later the *lapis* is to be *diluli*, that is, to be rolled up into the thickness of a finger so as to be ready for spinning. A *luli* is a pointed stick from 6 in. to 1 ft. long and no thicker than a little finger. After the *lapis* is rolled round the *luli* twice or thrice, it is cut off and placed in a basket. The cotton thus rolled is also called *luli*. The *luli* are then attached to a spinning wheel (*gasing*) and spun into a thread one by one.

We hesitate to criticize any statement by the Rev. W. Howell, but he seems to be describing the Javanese method of preparing and spinning the cotton (cf. Loeber, 1903, pl. II, 3, 4, which show the thrashing and the *luli*,

but not the rolling, in Java). No other accounts or illustrations give any indication of the Iban employing this method. We have consulted a cotton spinner of great experience, who says that the continual thrashing of the cotton and the cutting up into *luli* would break and weaken the fibres, which would be detrimental to making a good thread in spinning and would not produce yarn of the quality used in the Iban cloths.

"When the shuttle-pin [this is an impossible term. The Iban use a spool and not a shuttle in weaving. Howell is referring to the spindle] (*mata gasing* or 'eye of the spinning-wheel') is full up the thread is stretched in the *kuali* or cotton-stretcher. It is then taken out and dipped in rice gruel (*kanji*) for some little time—this is called the process of *nyikat*; after being well saturated it is taken out and stretched lengthways in the *ruai* [the verandah or long reception room of the house] by means of two bamboos. After this it is combed with a cocoanut husk in order to smooth it and to take off any rice grains that are sticking to it; it remains thus until quite dry, when it is rolled up into a ball or balls; this last process being called *nabu*. The thread is now ready for the further processes of dyeing and weaving" (Howell, p. 62).

According to Howell (but no one else records it), the thread is unrolled from the ball and "stretched in the loom to ascertain the length and breadth of the cloth to be woven; this process is called *mungga*. This being ascertained the thread is carefully taken out of the loom as it is, and fixed to the *tangga ubong* or 'the ladder of the thread'".

The tying frame, according to Hose and McDougall (I, p. 221), is usually about 6 ft. [183 cm.] long and 20 in. [5·08 cm.] wide. That in the British Museum (96.3.17) is 5 ft. 7 in. long and 9½ in. wide; it is figured by Loeber, 1903, pl. III, fig. 4. Our specimen (pl. XXVI, A) has a total length of 8 ft. and is 1 ft. 4 in. wide; the cross bars for the longer warp threads are 4 ft. 7 in. apart, the others are 7 in. shorter. Cross bars are fixed to the frame the distance apart required for the length of the cloth to be woven and the yarn goes round them from end to end.

If the cloth is to be plain, the web is set up in the loom, but if a self-coloured cloth is required, such as the dark blue worn by widows, the yarn is dyed before it is set up in the loom; there are, however, cases where a patterned cloth has been re-dipped in a blue dye.

Further, we should not omit to notice the growing importance of the language in the country further north, beyond H H. The Rajah's territory. 197

The British North Borneo Company employs a number of Sea Dyaks as armed police. There are many engaged in seeking jungle produce, in petty trading, or in cooley work, and, year by year, there would appear to be a steady increase in the number of Sea Dyaks who seek their fortunes in the Company's territory. 167

The Sea Dyaks possess no knowledge of writing, so their language has necessarily existed as an oral language. 212

When we reflect that Europeans have been in the country for upwards of fifty years, we may well feel surprised that so little has been done to familiarise both the natives and ourselves with this language by means of writing and printed books. 114

Previous to this Dictionary there has been produced only one work of the sort, entitled "A Brief Dictionary of the Sea Dyak Language." The other printed works can be counted almost upon the fingers of one hand, and their value is, in our opinion, much discounted by the fact that they clothe foreign ideas, thoughts, customs, and speech with mere Dyak words (of course used grammatically), which renders them useful only to Dyaks who have first of all been educated up to them, and of little use to those Europeans employed in this country who desire to construct genuine Dyak sentences understood by the common people. In this work it will be noticed that we have very generally erred upon the other side, and, at the expense of the English language, have tried to express in our examples native ideas, thoughts, customs and speech.

For their valuable assistance so kindly given us in preparing this work for publication, we have to thank Jantong of Temelan (who probably possesses a greater knowledge of the peculiarities of the language than any other Dyak living), Mr. A. F. Cheyne of Kalaka, the Rev'd E. H. Gomes, B. A., of Banting (whose criticisms and suggestions proved to be of the greatest possible use) and the Right Reverend G. F. Hose, D. D., Bishop of Singapore and Sarawak. 000

D. J. S. BAILEY.
W. HOWELL.

Simanggang, 1900.

15: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951) 1955 OC6 Iban OC6

INTRODUCTION.

In September, 1948, I was appointed to undertake anthropological research in Sarawak under the auspices of the Colonial Social Science Research Council. The Secretary of the Colonial Social Science Research Council laid down as follows the nature of my research work: "a study of a traditionally based, stable, Iban community based on shifting dry rice cultivation and not subject to undue land shortage.....as described in 'A Report on the Possibilities of a Social Economic Survey of Sarawak,' by Dr. E. R. Leach."

I arrived in Sarawak in January, 1949, and remained in the Colony until June, 1951. For most of this period I was working among the Iban of the Baleh region of the Kapit District of the Third Division. Our base camp was at Rumah Nyala in the Sungai Sut, but field research was carried on in many other parts of the Baleh region—particularly in the headwaters of the Sungai Mujong. Visits were also made to Iban communities of the lower, middle and upper Rejang, the Katibas and Ngemah—in the Third Division, and of the Saribas and Ulu Batang Ai—in the Second Division.

This report is primarily an account of Iban methods of shifting dry rice cultivation in pioneer areas. It is important to note that it deals—in particular—with conditions existing in the Baleh, and with the social behaviour and customs of the Ulu Ai Iban inhabiting this region. This means that proper safeguards must be observed before applying any of the findings of this report to other Iban areas. Nevertheless, the systems it describes are generally typical of most pioneer areas (i.e. areas where virgin jungle is still being felled and farmed), and probably of about fifty to sixty percent of the Iban population of Sarawak.

Iban agriculture and Iban methods of land utilization can only be understood in relation to the various corporate groups which characterize Iban society. For this reason it has been necessary to examine briefly the principal features of Iban social organization, and the first two sections of this report are devoted to a description and analysis of the Iban *bilek-family* and the Iban long-house community. These however are really no more than prolegomena to the sections dealing with agriculture and land usage. In future studies I plan to discuss Iban social structure in greater detail, for an analysis of its basic principles is an essential foundation to the understanding of all Iban social, ritual and economic institutions.

Again, from considerations of space only passing reference has been made to the elaborate *padi* cult upon which Iban agriculture is based. Upon this fascinating and important subject I was able to collect a great mass of material and it is my intention to discuss it fully in a separate monograph, which will stand as a companion volume to this present report. As Haddon truthfully observed: "It is characteristic of the Iban.....that the whole of their life is permeated with religious conceptions, and indeed no distinction can be drawn in their daily life between technical and religious operations: they are equally necessary." It is only when the inter-dependence of economics, social organization and ritual is understood that there can be any genuine appreciation of the nature of Iban agricultural practice.

This report is concerned chiefly with a single aspect of Iban life: their system of agriculture. It should perhaps be mentioned that it represents but one of the many problems studied during the period of my field work. I intend in due course to prepare monographs and papers on many other facets of Iban society and culture. Among the subjects which I hope to discuss are: kinship and marriage, political structure, legal institutions, religious beliefs and ritual institutions, magic, spirit medium cults, head-hunting, birth rites, death rites and the cult of the dead, weaving, dreams, systems of augury, tattooing, and many other minor topics.

I would like to express my appreciation of the various ways in which the Government of Sarawak facilitated my research work, and I am especially grateful to His Excellency Mr. A. F. Abell, C.M.G., for his action in approving an extension of my tour so that I might complete certain studies of Iban religion, and pay brief visits to parts of the Second Division.

It is difficult to speak too highly of the general hospitality, assistance and advice given to both my wife and myself during the course of our stay in Sarawak. In particular our gratitude is due to: Mr. and Mrs. B. Baughman (of the Methodist Mission, Kapit), Mr. J. C. H. Barcroft (Resident, Third Division), Father Barry (of the R.C. Mission, Kanowit), Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Bewsher (Kanowit), Mr. and Mrs. D. L. Bruen (D.O., Simanggang), Mr. W. P. N. L. Ditmas (Resident, Second Division), Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Drake-Brockman (D.O., Kanowit), Mr. and Mrs. J. Goatley (British Council, Kuching), Mr. T. Harrisson (Government Ethnologist and Curator of the Sarawak Museum), Mr. B. A. St. J. Hepburn, Mr. and Mrs. J. Hughes, Mr. D. L. Leach (Director of Lands and Surveys), Mr. C. Lightley, Mr. R. W. R. Miller (Director of Agriculture), Mr. R. H. Morris (D.O., Mukah), Mr. and Mrs. L. K. Morse (Resident, Third Division), Mr. and Mrs. William Nias (N. O., Sibu and Betong), Mr. R. Rennick, Mr. A. J. N. Richards (D.O., Kapit), Mr. P. Ringkai, Mr. P. Smith (D.O., Kapit), Mr. B. E. Smythies (Forestry Officer, Third Division), Mr. I. A. N. Urquhart (D.O., Kapit), Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Waine (D. O., Sibu), and Dr. and Mrs. E. H. Wallace (Medical Officer, Third Division).

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A husband and wife always live together as members of the same household; indeed, the conjugal tie is the only relationship - affinal or cognatic - which invariably occurs within the confines of the bilek family. The conjugal tie may be looked on then as the keystone of the bilek family. In particular, it is important to realize that a bilek family in the arrangement of its affairs has available to it the cognates of all its members, both natal and affinal. From the point of view of the senior natal members of a bilek, the cognates of an in-married member are kaban tampil, or affines; but to the children of the marriage they are part of these children's personal kindreds, or kaban pandal. In this way, as generation succeeds generation, affinal relationships become cognatic relationships and part of the network that forms the wider kinship structure of Iban society.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

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Social structure theory as it has been developed over recent years has been predominantly concerned with societies having unilineal descent groups. In this field valuable results have been attained. In comparison our understanding of cognatic or bilateral societies (which are not very much less numerous) is lamentable.[37] Preoccupation with unilineal descent systems can lead to dangerously lop-sided views of social structure in general, as, for example in Radcliffe Brown's assertion that "unilineal institutions in some form are almost, if not entirely, a necessity in any ordered social system."[38] Although thorough studies may still be sparse we do know enough about some of the several hundred bilateral societies still in existence to be able to demonstrate that there are a number of solutions alternative to unilineal descent all of which result in ordered social systems. The Iban solution in which

114 121 family corporations are perpetuated by a system of utrolateral filiation is one of them. This type of family, supported as it is by the ramifying cognatic kinship structure of the Iban does result, beyond any question, in an ordered social system. Furthermore, if the expansion of the Iban people during the past 150 years of their history be any criterion, it is also an efficient system.[39]

It would be of the greatest interest for social anthropological theory if a detailed comparative study of the morphology of bilateral kinship systems could be undertaken. Unfortunately, the dearth of modern structural analyses prevents this. Many of the world's bilateral societies are to be found in Southeast Asia and the Insular Pacific. It is to be hoped that research in these regions during the coming years will provide the materials for a comparative analysis of bilateral social structures of the kind already achieved for the unilineal systems of Africa.[40]

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

114 I was born in Thorsby, Alabama in 1932, moving to Birmingham in 1939. I received my B.A. from Asbury College in 1953, my B.D. from Vanderbilt School of Religion in 1956, and my M.A. from Scarritt College in 1968. Following one year's study of Ibans, I began teaching in the Methodist Theological School, Sibu, in 1958 and have taught in that institution for ten years. I have lived and worked among the Ibans of the Sibu District for eleven years. In addition to work with the Inter-Church Committee on Translation from 1963 to the present, I also have written original materials in Iban. I have compiled extensive word lists in anticipation of producing an Iban-English dictionary. In 1965 and 1966 I undertook field research on the Iban shaman which resulted in the writing of my Master's thesis, "The Iban Manang: A Study in Bornean Shamanism."

In 1966 I entered the Department of Anthropology of the University of Pittsburgh. During my third year, I worked as a Teaching Fellow. [122] Upon completion of my course work in 1969, I returned to Sarawak where I undertook the research for my dissertation, with financial assistance from a National Science Foundation Dissertation Grant. In 1971 and 1972, I wrote the dissertation which follows.

permanence and because it was the first longhouse in memory built of planks.[18] In other areas, for example Oya Road and specifically Rumah Tindit and Rumah Meruan, the advent of rubber has been influential in the fragmentation of longhouses which have been abandoned as individual families moved away to be nearer to their gardens.[19]

Adaptation to rubber production was a shift in the value system and social structure of the Iban community. For, whereas previously successful rice cultivation was a requisite for any Iban male seeking recognition and upward mobility, rubber planting opened a new way to wealth and acquisition of economic security, so much desired and a sure sign of the blessings of the gods. The conflict between the traditional padiculture and rubber growing was expressed in a wide-spread story that rubber ate rice.[20] According to one version,

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[18] Owing to the practice of shifting cultivation, longhouses were impermanent structures, built of softwood posts, split bamboo floors, bark walls and thatched roofs, according to several informants (Unchat Chok, Tuai Rumah Gaong).

[19] The ceremonial importance of the longhouse continues and bilik - families return occasionally for gawai and other ritual activities.

[20] Pringle describes a similar story among the Saribas Ibans (1970-203), Freeman among the Balleh Ibans (1955-105), and Geddes among the Land Dayaks.

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While Freeman is basically correct in his recognition of a two-pronged movement from the Second Division into the Rejang via the Katibas and Kanowit rivers, these were but two of the major avenues through which the Ibans moved. The migrations were not highly organized ventures involving hundreds of people, but were the gradual, continuous movements of people farming, hunting and gathering, then pressing on to new lands. Ibans from Saribas and the Krian moved to Sarikei and Binatang, and from there spread to other areas of the lower Rejang, Sibu and even to Song. Saribas Ibans also settled in parts of the Kanowit and its tributaries, especially the Julau. Skrang and Lemanak Ibans moved into the Kanowit, the former from there to Durin, the latter to the Poi and Ngemah tributaries of the Rejang and from the Poi to the Batang Igan below Sibu. Upon reaching the Rejang, the Ibans began the gradual ascent of other uninhabited tributaries, felling and clearing the jungles, until they reached the headwaters of the branches to the north as well as to the south.

These migrations have occurred within the past century and a half. At the time of publication of Ten Years in Sarawak by the Second Rajah in 1866, the Ibans had not migrated to the areas north or east of the Rejang. Within the past century, they have become the most numerous group in the Third Division and established in large numbers in the Fourth and Fifth Divisions.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

175 combination with generally poor soils and the techniques of shifting
166 cultivators. The estimate of 50,000 Ibans living in the Second
161 Division in the early nineteenth century does not seem excessive and, indeed, may be quite low in light of the present Iban population of 330,000, achieved with an increase of 1.7 per cent per annum.[9]

The Second Division is an area of 4,129 square miles, into which the Ibans moved during the nineteenth century. A quick calculation reveals that the population density did not approach the figure of 46 persons per square mile, Freeman's estimate of the maximum number that could occupy an area for cultivation and allow the optimum fallow time of 12 years (1955-134, 136). But, Freeman's estimate does not take into consideration the fact that much land in Sarawak is not suitable for cultivation. As Lee notes:

> "Although the density for the country as a whole is still very low, there are areas in Sarawak where pressure of population on land resources is becoming acute. It must also be remembered that much of the empty areas of Sarawak will not have a large carrying capacity. The coastal peat-swamp forests and the inaccessible, hilly interior with only small patches of flat fertile and have little potential value for settlement and agriculture."

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[9] For references and discussion of early sources on Sarawak's population see J. L. Noakes, "The Growth of the Population of Sarawak," in L. W. Jones 1960-319-24.

THE BILIK-FAMILY

592 The fundamental unit of Iban society is the bilik-family.[1]
182 Adapting as they have to poor soils which would not support a large population; to uncontrollable elements such as rainfall and flooding, drought and blight, and pests beyond measure; and with their techniques of shifting cultivation accompanied by extensive ritual activities, the Ibans have selected and placed a premium upon the bilik-family as an autonomous producing and consuming unit.

592 The bilik-family tends to be small and flexible in receiving and
[602] releasing members who enjoy a high degree of mobility. Bilateral attachment permits members to exploit ties from both parents' kin-groups to their maximum benefit. And organization of bilik-families in the longhouse system has provided defense when head-hunting still was in vogue, labor when a larger work-force is required during the periods of clearing and harvesting the rice fields, and supplements to supplies for festive activities.

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[1] This spelling differs from Freeman's bilik (1970:2), but is consonant with Scott (1955:29) and current spellings of Iban. The final vowel is a glide and best represented by the phoneme /i/, for in Iban the letter "e" is commonly used to indicate a schwa.

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342 padong regularly is eight to ten feet wide, and its length is determined by the longitudinal front of the bilik. The padong ruai is one of the most important social centers in the longhouse, for it is the area where most people do light work and, in the case of men, spend their leisure time. When not used, the padong either is uncovered or covered with an old mat, lest good mats be spoiled by dogs defecating on them or their being trampled by playing children. When used, the padong is covered with a tikai, brought from the bilik where they are kept rolled up when not in use.

512 462 During the day time, women split reeds (ngeraut ui) for use in weaving baskets and mats. Men and women separate pepper corns from the stalks, to be taken onto the tanju' for drying. Men split firewood or work on knife-handles or gunwales (gandong) for boats. In the evening, men and women gather to talk about their farms, dreams, or how the latest [574] [276] Apollo flight has upset the weather. As people gather, hosts offer sarang insap (tobacco containers) for a smoke or brass trays containing areca-nuts (pinang), betel leaves (sirih) and lime (kapu'), all the fixings for a quid.

342 513 178 Young men sleep on the padong, when not planning and carrying out romantic pursuits of unmarried women. As noted, the panggau[10] no longer

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[114] [10] Freeman's (1970:6) description of "special, bunk-like enclosures, termed agu" as sleeping places for young men is suspect, for agu means "latrine".

342 727 372 periodic ritual smoking in remembrance of the heads.[12]

The ruai is an important area for ritual activities of the Ibans. 342 796 At the beginning of the horticultural year, the pandong (ritual center, with ceremonial blanket enclosing the seed, whetstone, and utensils to be used) is erected on the ruai. The ruai is the path of the bards (lemanbang to sebayan (the after-world), and it is the way of the gods into the long-house.

342 412 235 Between the ruai proper and the bilik is the tempuan lesong (mortar place), where rice mortars and mills are kept when not in use, hence the name. Firewood is stacked against the dinding udok, and fighting cocks are tethered before the owner's bilik. The tempuan lesong may be demarcated 178 by another row of posts, but in some houses there is no such row. In the modern longhouse of Rumah Nyala, several bilik have long benches attached to the wall and the tempuan lesong has become the sitting area.

3. Sadau

Over each bilik and extending about halfway over the padong ruai 251 is a loft which serves a number of purposes. The most common use of the sadau is as a storage area, where the large bark-bins (tibang) containing the family's rice supply is stored. Mats, baskets, and farm utensils may be stored in the sadau. Some families use the sadau as a sleeping area,

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114 [12] Freeman is right to stress that "these heads (antu pala') are always the property of one particular family, and are never owned by the long-house group as a whole." (Ibid.).

62/602 (Bilik No. 10), Ajik, along with Apit (No. 20), Julan (No. 21), and Chengok (No. 22) moved to Aup.

[572] The primary principles which provide the bases for communal relations in Rumah Nyala, thus, are cognatic and affinal kinship, reinforced by the elusive quality and problematic relation of friendship (cf. Paine 1969). Table 34A summarizes the bases for relations between the bilik-families of Rumah Nyala, and it immediately is apparent that almost 75 per cent of the families are related as cognates, within the range of siblings and fifth-cousins. Beji (No. 6) and Mayah (No. 7) are affinally related to Chundi (No. 15), and in the last paragraph we have noted the relations between Ambas and his cognates. Liang and Megong (nos. 4 and 31) are affines of Lium (No. 18), and Ili lives at Rumah Nyala with his friends, claiming them as kaban but having no real kin-ties.

Thus, although Freeman's statement that,

[114] "a husband and wife never take up residence in a longhouse unless one or the other has kinsfolk there"

is generally true, there are exceptions as in the cases of Ili and Geranding who not only are non-kinsmen but also members of other ethnic groups as well, and with their families, are unrelated to any of the other members of Rumah [563] Nyala as kinsmen. Relatively easy attachment to the longhouse community is one of the important principles of Iban social organization so that Chinese, Memaloh, Melanaus and others have related themselves to longhouses either

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 360]

A, [Should read "Table 33"--Analyst]